

SOVA/DPD/

25X1

25X1

Talking Points for ADDI  
27th CPSU Congress

Gorbachev used the 27th Soviet Party Congress to push ahead with the program he believes will turn the country around --bringing new blood into the ruling elite and introducing a more vigorous leadership style. Reshaping the top leadership continues to be his most impressive accomplishment:

-- following the addition of three to the ruling Politburo at the congress, ten of the eighteen full and candidate members (excluding Gorbachev) now owe their promotions to Gorbachev, and only four of the remainder gained their position in the Brezhnev era:

-- all but three of the members of the party secretariat, the body that will be charged with insuring that Gorbachev's policies are implemented, are now his own appointees;

-- The congress approved the largest turnover in the ruling 307-member Central Committee since Khrushchev's last congress in 1961.

Gorbachev's new men are well-suited for carrying out his domestic and foreign policies:

-- the new Politburo members are industrial technocrats with a reputation for innovative management;

-- the addition to the secretariat of Anatoliy Dobrynin--with more than two decades of experience as US envoy--and propaganda chief Aleksandr Yakovlev--the former ambassador to Canada now responsible for Moscow's PR efforts--will improve his ability to conduct a sophisticated public diplomacy in the West.

But Gorbachev appears to be moving cautiously in the face of evident resistance to change from conservatives in the party and footdragging in the bureaucracy:

-- he moderated his harsh warnings of the past to recalcitrant officials in the party, and reassured them that no "purge" was

planned;

-- his lieutenants Yeltsin and Murakhovskiy, who spoke out forcefully for change at the congress, did not advance further as had been expected, and two leading old guard members on the Politburo--Ukrainian party boss Shcherbitskiy and Kazakh leader Kunayev, retained their seats.

The congress leaves Gorbachev with unfinished business. He has raised expectations at home and abroad that more substantial policy initiatives will follow his consolidation of power at the congress. If he fails to follow through, he stands to lose the momentum he has generated in a very successful first year:

-- he laid the groundwork for further steps at the congress, announcing that the economy requires "radical reform," while reassuring conservatives that changes in the system will not represent a "departure from socialist principles;"

-- his lieutenants raised the controversial issues of restricting the party elites' privileges and expanding the role of the market within the bounds of the USSR's socialist economy.

The congress provided more evidence that the new Soviet leadership remains preoccupied with US-Soviet relations, despite its moves to invigorate diplomacy in Europe and Asia:

-- Gorbachev's speech gave short shrift to "national liberation movements," focusing instead on the United States and arms control;

Gorbachev's focus on the US reflects the dependence of his plans to rebuild the domestic economy on his ability to control tensions with the US, but does not reflect any softening of Soviet policy:

-- his depiction of global trends featured a dark portrait of the US as a malevolent, imperialist power, and he used the occasion to stiffen his terms for a second meeting with President Reagan.

## CPSU Politburo and Secretariat

☐ Promoted since March 1985, when Gorbachev became General Secretary.

☐ Promoted at 27th party congress, 6 March 1986.

### Politburo

#### Full Members

Mikhail Gorbachev	Party General Secretary
Geydar Aliyev	First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers
Viktor Chebrikov	Chairman, KGB
Andrey Gromyko	Chairman, Presidium, Supreme Soviet
Dinmukhamed Kunayev	First Secretary, Kazakhstan party Central Committee
Yegor Ligachev	Party Secretary, ideology and party personnel
Nikolay Ryzhkov	Chairman, Council of Ministers
Vladimir Shcherbitskiy	First Secretary, Ukrainian party Central Committee
Eduard Shevardnadze	Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mikhail Solomentsev	Chairman, party Control Committee
Vitaliy Vorotnikov	Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers
Lev Zaykov	Secretary, defense industry and general economics

#### Candidate Members

Petr Demichev	Minister of Culture
Vladimir Dolgikh	Party Secretary, heavy industry
Nikolay Slyunkov	First Secretary, Belorussian party Central Committee
Sergey Sokolov	Minister of Defense
Yuriy Solovyev	First Secretary, Leningrad oblast
Nikolay Talyzin	Chairman, Gosplan; First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers
Boris Yeltsin	First Secretary, Moscow city party

#### Secretaries not on Politburo

Aleksandra Biryukova	light industry, consumer issues*
Anatoliy Dobrynin	foreign affairs*
Vadim Medvedev	science and education*
Viktor Nikonov	agriculture
Georgiy Razumovskiy	party personnel
Aleksandr Yakovlev	ideology, propaganda*
Mikhail Zimyanin	culture

\* Probable responsibilities.